EVANGELIUM SECUNDUM PETRUM.

The Gospel fragment identified by M. Bouriant as part of the Apocryphal Gospel of Peter, and recently published by him among the Mémoires of the French Archaeological Mission at Cairo, is already, thanks to the diligence of Professor Swete and Mr. Robinson, conveniently accessible in two forms. Professor Swete has prefixed to his edition a short catena of the passages in Patristic literature which "bear witness to the early circulation of a Petrine Gospel, or convey the judgment of church writers upon it," embodying in his text of Serapion's letter the emendations suggested by Dr. Westcott (Canon of N.T., p. 391). Mr. Robinson prefaces his text with a lecture which includes a translation of the whole document, and a rich collection of references to illustrative parallels drawn from a large range in early Christian literature. He has also placed references in the margin of the Greek text opposite all the lines which contain parallels to statements or phrases peculiar to one of the four canonical Gospels. As he has endeavoured with good success to make this list exhaustive, and has rigidly excluded all other Gospel references—even to passages peculiar to the common element in St. Matthew and St. Mark—the use made of the distinctive parts of each Gospel may be seen at a glance.

The contents of the fragment are as follows:—

1. But of the Jews none washed his hands, neither Herod nor any one of His judges. And when they wished to wash them Pilate rose up. And then Herod the king commanded that the Lord be taken, saying to them, What things ever I commanded you to do unto Him, do.

1 Mr. Robinson's courtesy enables me to give the translation embedded in his lecture, and to incorporate the corrections which will shortly appear in his second edition.
2. And there was come there Joseph, the friend of Pilate and of the Lord; and knowing that they were about to crucify Him, he came to Pilate and asked the body of the Lord for burial. And Pilate sent to Herod and asked His body. And Herod said, Brother Pilate, even if no one had asked Him, we should have buried Him; since indeed the sabbath draweth on: for it is written in the law, that the sun go not down on him that is put to death, on the day before the unleavened bread, which is their feast.

3. And they took the Lord and pushed Him as they ran, and said, Let us drag away the Son of God, having obtained power over Him. And they clothed Him with purple, and set Him on the seat of judgement, saying, Judge righteously, O king of Israel. And one of them brought a crown of thorns and put it on the head of the Lord. And others stood and spat in His eyes, and others smote His cheeks: others pricked Him with a reed; and some scourged Him, saying, With this honour let us honour the Son of God.

4. And they brought two malefactors, and they crucified the Lord between them. But He held His peace, as having in no wise pain. And when they had raised the cross they wrote upon it, This is the King of Israel. And having set His garments before Him they parted them among them, and cast a lot for them. And one of those malefactors reproached them, saying, We have suffered thus for the evils that we have done, but this man, having become the Saviour of men, what wrong hath He done to you? And they, being angered at Him, commanded that His legs should not be broken, that he might die in torment.

5. And it was noon, and darkness covered all Judea: and they were troubled and distressed, lest the sun was going down, since He yet lived: [for] it is written for them, that the sun go not down on Him that is put to death. And one of them said, Give Him to drink gall with vinegar.
And they mixed and gave Him to drink, and fulfilled all things, and accomplished their sins against their own head. And many went about with lamps, supposing that it was night, and fell down. And the Lord cried out, saying, My power, My power, thou hast forsaken Me. And when He had said it He was taken up. And in that hour the vail of the temple of Jerusalem was rent in twain.

6. And they drew out the nails from the hands of the Lord, and laid Him upon the earth, and the earth all quaked, and great fear arose. Then the sun shone, and it was found the ninth hour: and the Jews rejoiced, and gave His body to Joseph that he might bury it, since he had seen what good things He had done. And he took the Lord, and washed Him, and wrapped Him in a linen cloth, and brought Him into his own tomb, which was called the Garden of Joseph.

7. Then the Jews and the elders and the priests, seeing what evil they had done to themselves, began to lament and to say, Woe for our sins: for the judgment and the end of Jerusalem hath drawn nigh. And I with my companions was grieved; and being wounded in mind we hid ourselves: for we were being sought for by them as malefactors, and as wishing to set fire to the temple. And upon all these things we fasted and sat mourning and weeping night and day until the sabbath.

8. But the scribes and Pharisees and elders being gathered together one with another, when they heard that all the people murmured and beat their breasts, saying, If by His death these most mighty signs have come to pass, see how just He is,—the elders were afraid and came to Pilate, beseeching him and saying, Give us soldiers, that they may watch His sepulchre for three days, lest His disciples come and steal Him away, and the people suppose that He is risen from the dead and do us evil. And Pilate gave them Petronius the centurion with soldiers to watch the tomb.
And the elders and scribes came with them to the sepulchre, and having rolled a great stone along with the centurion and the soldiers, they all together who were there set it at the door of the sepulchre; and they put upon it seven seals, and they pitched a tent there and kept watch.

9. And early in the morning as the Sabbath was drawing on, there came a multitude from Jerusalem and the region round about, that they might see the sepulchre that was sealed. And in the night in which the Lord's day was drawing on, as the soldiers kept watch two by two on guard, there was a great voice in the heaven; and they saw the heavens opened, and two men descending thence with great light and approaching the tomb. And that stone which was put at the door rolled away of itself and departed to one side; and the tomb was opened and both the young men entered in.

10. When therefore the soldiers saw it, they awakened the centurion and the elders, for they too were hard by keeping watch; and, as they declared what things they had seen, again they see coming forth from the tomb three men, and the two supporting the one, and a cross following them. And of the two the head reached unto the heaven, but the head of Him that was led by them overpassed the heavens. And they heard a voice from the heavens, saying, Hast thou preached to them that sleep? And an answer was heard from the cross, Yea.

11. They therefore considered one with another whether to go away and show these things to Pilate. And while they yet thought thereon the heavens again appear opened, and a certain man descending and entering into the sepulchre. When the centurion and they that were with him saw these things, they hastened by night to Pilate, leaving the tomb which they were watching, and declared all things which they had seen, being sore distressed, and saying, Truly He was the Son of God. Pilate answered
and said, I am pure from the blood of the Son of God: but ye determined this. Then they all drew near and besought him and entreated him to command the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing of the things which they had seen: For it is better, say they, for us to incur the greatest debt of sin before God, and not to fall into the hands of the people of the Jews and to be stoned. Pilate therefore commanded the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing.

12. And at dawn upon the Lord's day Mary Magdalene, a disciple of the Lord [who], fearing because of the Jews, since they were burning with wrath, had not done at the Lord's sepulchre the things which the women are wont to do for those that die and that are beloved by them, took her friends with her and came to the sepulchre where He was laid. And they feared lest the Jews should see them, and they said, Even if on that day on which He was crucified we could not weep and lament, yet now let us do these things at His sepulchre. But who shall roll away for us the stone that is laid at the door of the sepulchre, that we may enter in and sit by Him and do the things that are due? For the stone was great, and we fear lest some one see us. And even if we cannot, yet if we shall set at the door the things which we bring for a memorial of Him, we will weep and lament, until we come unto our home.

13. And they went away and found the tomb opened, and coming near they looked in there; and they see there a certain young man, sitting in the midst of the tomb, beautiful and clothed in a very bright robe; who said to them, Why are ye come? Whom seek ye? Is it that crucified One? He is risen and gone away. But if ye believe not, look in and see the place where He lay, that He is not [here]; for He is risen, and gone away thither, whence He was sent. Then the women feared and fled.

14. Now it was the last day of the unleavened bread, and many went forth returning to their homes, as the feast was
ended. But we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, wept and were grieved: and each one grieving for that which was come to pass, departed to his home. But I Simon Peter, and Andrew my brother took our nets and went away to the sea; and there was with us Levi, the son of Alphæus, whom the Lord...

As the contents of the document and its more obvious characteristics have already been more than once described at length, I propose to proceed at once to point out some hitherto unnoticed traces of the use of this document in early Christian literature, and to consider the relation in which it stands to the canonical Gospels.

And first it is natural to turn our attention to Origen. He is the one early writer who refers by name to the Gospel of Peter as an authority for a definite statement (in Matt. tom. x. 17). Unfortunately the limits of our fragment do not enable us to verify the accuracy of his reference—it contains no reference to the brethren of Jesus. And still more unfortunately the latter part of Origen’s commentary on St. Matthew (from xxii. 33 to the end) is extant only in Latin. The following parallels seem to me however to deserve careful attention.

(1) “Et ipse quidem se lavit, illi autem non solum se mundare noluerunt a sanguine Christi, sed etiam super se susceperunt, dicentes: Sanguis ejus super nos, et super filios nostros.”—Orig. in Mat., 124.
Cf. § 1. καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρότερων νιψάθεαι.

It is difficult to interpret M. Bouriant’s brackets, but if they are meant to indicate illegibility in the MS., it would be tempting to read, as has already been suggested, καὶ μὴ ἰσχυρότερων.

The next parallel is more important. It forms the conclusion of the discussion of the mockery with the reed.

(2) “Et in his omnibus unigenita virtus nocita non est, sicut nec passa est aliquid, facta pro nobis maledictum, cum naturaliter benedictio esset;
The words in the Gospel seem to be Docetic in intent. But Origen’s comment shows that it is quite possible to give them an innocent interpretation. And the use of “virtus” is interesting in view of the use of δύναμις in the cry from the cross as recorded in this Gospel.

Here necessity for defining the extent of the darkness is expressly stated in the context, and Origen may very well have arrived at “Judea” independently. But the need for specifying the locality of the Temple “in Jerusalem” is not so obvious, and may be an echo of our Gospel.

The presence of the words in the Gospel seems a clear sign that it must have originated outside Palestine. The explanatory comment, τῆς ἐσφητῆς αὐτῶν, § 2, seems to point in the same direction. Cf. St. John vi. 4, etc.
The interesting point here is that Origen expressly recognizes a baleful character in the potion. The language in the Gospel, both in describing the purpose of the draught, as springing from fear lest Jesus should survive the sunset, and in treating the action of the Jews in the matter as the climax of their guilt, suggests that "the gall" was regarded as a poison.

In this connexion it is worth remembering that ננה, which is translated by "gall" in Psalm lxix. 21, quite naturally supports this interpretation, since, like the Latin "fel," it may be translated either "gall" or "poison."

(5) "Miserti sunt ergo Judæi post crudelam condemnationem eorum, qui quantum ad existimationem eorum vivebant in cruciato terribili.

... Aut forte non propter misericordiam hoc fecerunt Judæi... Orig. in Mat., 140.

Cf. § 1. ἐκλέυσαν ἵνα μὴ σκελοκοπηθῇ, ὅπως βασανίζομενος ἀποθάνῃ.

And § 2. ἢλιον μὴ ὲναι ἐπὶ πεφυγμένῳ πρὸ μᾶς τῶν ἁμαρ.

Cf. also contra Celsus, III. 48.

This is in some respects the most interesting of all the parallels. Hitherto Origen has stood alone in suggesting at least the possibility of a merciful intent, underlying the torture of the "Crurifragium."

(6) "Jesus ergo cum non fuerit percussus et speraretur diu pendens in cruce maiora pati tormenta oravit Patrem, et exanditus est, et statim ut clamavit ad Patrem, receptus est: aut sicut qui potestatem habebat ponendi animam suam, posuit eam quando voluit ipse; quod prodigium stupuit centurio factum, et dixit, 'Vere hic homo Filius erat Dei.' Miraculum enim erat quoniam post tres horas receptus est qui forte biduum victurus erat in cruce secundum consuetudinem eorum qui suspenduntur quidem, non autem percutiuntur ... et observa quoniam apud Marcus ubi centurio nullum miraculum vidisse refertur, hominem dicit Jesum Filium Dei."—Orig. in Mat., § 140.

Cf. καὶ εἰπὼν ἐμελήθησθη. § 5.

There is some confusion in this last sentence, because the earlier part of the comment springs far more naturally from St. Mark's narrative of the incident, in which attention is
concentrated on the manner of the death "ὁτι οὔτως ἐξέπνευσεν" or "ὁτι οὔτως κράζας ἐξέπνευσεν," than from St. Matthew's, in which our attention is distracted by reference to the concomitant signs. And so Origen cannot have regarded St. Mark as silent with regard to that which on his own showing was the real "Miracle" in the matter; especially as he gives the words of the Centurion, when he first has occasion to quote them, in the form peculiar to St. Mark (xv. 39); and as the surprise expressed at the speediness of the death finds its only parallel in the same source (xv. 44).

For our immediate purpose, however, the interest of the quotation centres in the twice repeated phrase "receptus est," which it is difficult not to regard as a distinct echo of the mysterious "ἀνελήφθη" of our text.

The phrases in the Canonical Gospels ἐξέπνευσεν (Mark, Luke), ἀφίκεν τὸ πνεῦμα (Matthew), παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα (John), are clearly quite distinct; the only real parallels being found in explicit references to the Ascension, Acts i. 2, 1 Tim. iii. 16, [Mark] xvi. 19; cf. Luke ix. 51.

It is clearly, therefore, misleading to follow M. Bouriant in translating the word "died."

Following so closely on the Docetic version of the cry from the Cross, and in the light of the well known Gnostic application of this very utterance, the original intention of the word can hardly be regarded as doubtful (cf. Mr. Robinson in loc.). But Origen's use of the passage seems to show that here again words originally Docetic were patient of an Orthodox application; especially when the scoffs of Celsus had given believers an additional reason for guarding against any possible aspersions on the dignity of the Crucified. See, for instance,


νννὶ δὲ ὁ Ἰσσωῦς κράζας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἀφήκε τὸ πνεῦμα—καὶ ὡς βασιλέως καταλιπώντος τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐνεργησαντός μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ἐξουσίας.—Orig. in Joan. xix. 4.
The other source to which I wish to direct attention is the Fifth Book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* in both its extant recensions. The earlier of these, commonly called "Didascalia," is preserved only in a Syriac version. The quotations given from it are taken from Lagarde's re-translation into Greek. The later is quoted as *Apost. Const.*, and is extant in the original Greek.

It will be noticed that a good many of the more remarkable parallels have been absorbed in the process of revision. And yet the later form contains some which are not found in the earlier, at any rate in the form in which we know it at present.

The first of these passages (the reference to which I owe to an article in the *Guardian*, Dec. 7, 1892) contains a remarkably close parallel to the opening clauses of the Gospel, not only in structure, but in the startling declaration that the order for the crucifixion was given by "Herod the king."

(1) ὁ μὲν ἀλλόφυλος κριτὴς νεψάμενος τὰς χεῖρας εἶπεν Ἄθωός εἶμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ δυκαλίου τούτου, ὅμεις ὄψεσθε. ὁ δὲ Ἰσραήλ ἐπεβάψε: Ὁ πάντας αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν καὶ Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν σταυρωθήναι.—*Didasc.* v. 19.

In the *Apostolic Constitutions* this passage is quietly assimilated to Acts iv. 27, still retaining, however, the title of "king" (cf. Mk. vi. 14) for Herod the Tetrarch.

(2) καὶ Πιλάτος ὁ Ἰγγερὼν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὸν σταυρωθῆναι, καὶ πληροῦσα τὸ φάσκον λόγον Ἰατή ἐφφυάξαν, κ.π.λ. —Constr. *Apost.* v. 19.

The next group of passages is interesting, as perhaps helping, towards the elucidation of the chronology of this Gospel, and especially of the two kindred passages.

§ 7. ἐυφρενεύμεν καὶ ἐκαθέκομεθα πεπθοῦντες καὶ κλαίοντες νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἔως τοῦ σαββάτου.

And § 14. ἢν δὲ τελευταία ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων.
I half suspect that a misunderstanding of σάββατον in St. Luke xxiii. 56 underlies this chronology, both here and in the Gospel, but the solution of it is still to seek.

The passage from the Apostolic Constitutions is this time richer in points of direct contact with the Gospel than the passages in the Didascalia.

There is nothing in the canonical Gospels to indicate that the women who went to visit the tomb were at all afraid of being seen.

The following summaries of the events of the Passion seem to deserve quotation for purposes of comparison, especially when we remember that the narrative is put into the mouth of St. Peter (Ap. Const. v. 7, "δι’ ἐμοῦ Πέτρου").
The following references to the Ascension have at least one point of connexion with our fragment, besides supplying one or two phraseological illustrations:


(8) διαταξάμενος ἡμῶν ἀνελήφθη ἐπ’ ὧν ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα αὐτόν, καὶ ἔαν μὲν πιστεύσητε, μακάριοι γενήσεσθε, εἰ δὲ ἀπιστήσετε, ἀδώνι ἡμεῖς εἰρεθησόμεθα καὶ καθαροὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας δυσπιστίας.—Ap. Const. v. 7.


If these passages are sufficient, as I think they are, to make out a strong case for the position that our fragment was in the hands both of Origen and of the author of the Apostolic Constitutions, it is clear that a careful comparison of these two authorities may disclose yet further traces of this interesting document.

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